

to create and had their military successes, God bless them for that, the secure framework was established to enable the Iraqi Government to make the political change necessary to end the civil war. Well, the sacrifice of our troops was simply not met by the actions of the Iraqi Government.

How much longer should we expect our young people to risk their lives, their limbs, their families, for an Iraqi Government that is not willing to step up to the plate?

This legislation today offers something fundamentally different from what President Bush is proposing, a 10-year war, a war without end, costing trillions of dollars at the expense of our military readiness. In fact, it offers something different than this House has done before. Indeed, it provides the tools to our troops so that they can get their jobs done with the greatest respect for that job. But it also presents a strategy that will bring them home responsibly, honorably, safely, and soon.

The legislation is different because it ties the funding to a strategy for redeployment. It is different because the funding provided is for the short term so that we can measure the administration's plan, if there is such a plan, to redeploy the troops on the schedule established in this bill.

We do have a military crisis not seen since Vietnam. Equipment is wearing out and needs to be replaced. Our troops, wherever they are, are only being trained for counterinsurgency in Iraq instead of a wider training for a full range of missions that they may be called on to perform. The deployment schedule of the Bush administration is wearing down our forces, plain and simple.

The distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee has made this readiness issue the cornerstone of his opposition to this war in Iraq. The distinguished chairman of the appropriations subcommittee on Defense has told us over and over again that this deployment in Iraq cannot be sustained without weakening our national security, without diminishing the capacity of our armed services to meet challenges to our national security wherever they may occur. As such, this readiness crisis poses a grave threat to America's national security.

Yet under the President's plan, and this was expressed by representatives of the administration on more than one occasion, the President's plan would bring 30,000 troops, the number of troops that were sent in for the surge, that 30,000 troops would be redeployed back to the U.S. by July of 2008. So let's understand this. This means that by July of 2008, we will have the same number of troops in Iraq as we had in November of 2006 when the American people called for a new direction in Iraq. Again, we cannot afford the President's commitment in Iraq. It traps us. It traps us, and we cannot, while we are in that trap, address our readiness crisis.

This redeployment, in addition to undermining our military capacity to protect the American people, is also unsustainable financially. According to a recent report by the Joint Economic Committee, this war could end up costing American taxpayers \$3 trillion. We will pay any price, as President Kennedy said, to protect the American people, but without us going into the shortcomings of this war and the President's execution of it, \$3 trillion, think of the opportunity cost of that money in our readiness, in the strength of our country, in our reputation in the world.

The legislation before us is important. Again, the title of it is the Orderly and Responsible Iraq Redeployment Appropriations Act. It would begin redeployment within 30 days of enactment and have a goal of completing the redeployment by December 15, 2008. The legislation requires a transition in the mission of U.S. forces from being in combat to diplomatic and force protection, to targeted counterterrorism and limited support for the Iraqi security forces. It would prohibit the deployment of U.S. troops to Iraq who are not fully trained and fully equipped. Thank you, Mr. MURTHA, for your leadership on that subject and on this one as well and so many others. It requires that all U.S. Government agencies and personnel abide by the Army Field Manual's prohibition against torture.

The legislation that Mr. OBEY has brought to the floor, and I salute your leadership over and over again on this subject and so many others, Mr. Chairman, the House must choose between the President's plan for a 10-year war without end, no end in sight, the longer we're there, the harder it is to come out, the longer we're there, the more severely it hurts our military readiness; or a Democratic plan for responsible, honorable, safe redeployment out of Iraq and soon.

Our troops have already paid too high a price for this war: 3,850 U.S. troops killed, 28,000 injured, thousands of them permanently. That is, of course, the biggest price to pay. But the price that we are paying in our reputation in the world for us not to be able to take our rightful place as a leader in the world to make the world safer, to make the region, the Middle East, more stable, and so many other challenges that the world faces, whether it's the eradication of disease, the alleviation of poverty, the curbing of global warming, keeping peace, ending the fury of despair that contributes to the violence in the world. The countries of the world are crying out for American leadership, and at the same time they disrespect us for what is happening in Iraq.

We must act now to provide a new direction because it is clear that the President has turned a blind eye to all of this. And in addition to what I said earlier, our troops paying the biggest price, our reputation in the world, the

several-trillion-dollar price tag to the taxpayer, and the cost to our readiness, despite the fact that the President has turned a blind eye to the facts of Iraq and a tin ear to the wishes of the American people to take a new direction in Iraq and bring our troops home, we must act today. I hope that our colleagues will all support this legislation because in doing so and if it is enacted into law and if this policy is pursued, we can resume our rightful place in the world. We can refocus our attention, as Mr. OBEY said earlier, on the real war on terrorism, and we can make the American people safer by rebuilding and restoring the readiness and the capacity of our military to protect the American people wherever our interests are threatened.

All of us stand here and take an oath of office by pledging to protect and defend the Constitution. In that preamble, to provide for the common defense is one of our first responsibilities. Unless we do that, protect the American people, nothing else is possible.

So let us support this legislation which helps us honor our oath of office to defend the American people and to respect the sacrifice, the courage, the patriotism of our troops to make us the home of the brave and the land of the free.

I urge a "yes" vote on this important legislation.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

Mr. SKELTON. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I rise in support of this resolution.

It's very important that we take a good look at where we are in the country of Iraq. It's important that we take a good look at the status of the United States military forces, in particular our Army, which is being stretched and strained nearly beyond recognition.

You can't help but have a great deal of pride in the young men and young women in doing the duty upon which they have been called. But it is important for us to turn the reins, give the baton over to the Iraqi forces, to the Iraqi Government. We cannot hold their hand there forever. It is important that we redeploy our forces in a responsible and reasonable manner so that their readiness is assured in case of some future challenge.

#### CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The call was taken by electronic device, and the following Members responded to their names:

[Roll No. 1106]

#### ANSWERED "PRESENT"—377

Abercrombie	Alexander	Arcuri
Ackerman	Allen	Baca
Aderholt	Altmire	Bachmann
Akin	Andrews	Bachus

Baird  
Baker  
Baldwin  
Barrett (SC)  
Barrow  
Bartlett (MD)  
Barton (TX)  
Bean  
Becerra  
Berkley  
Berman  
Berry  
Biggert  
Bilbray  
Bilirakis  
Bishop (GA)  
Bishop (NY)  
Blackburn  
Blumenauer  
Blunt  
Bonner  
Boozman  
Boren  
Boswell  
Boustany  
Boyd (FL)  
Boyd (KS)  
Brady (PA)  
Brady (TX)  
Braley (IA)  
Brown (SC)  
Brown, Corrine  
Brown-Waite, Ginny  
Buchanan  
Burgess  
Burton (IN)  
Butterfield  
Buyer  
Calvert  
Campbell (CA)  
Cannon  
Capito  
Capps  
Capuano  
Cardoza  
Carnahan  
Carney  
Carter  
Castle  
Castor  
Chabot  
Chandler  
Clarke  
Cleaver  
Clyburn  
Coble  
Cohen  
Conaway  
Conyers  
Cooper  
Costa  
Costello  
Courtney  
Cramer  
Crowley  
Cuellar  
Cummings  
Davis (AL)  
Davis (CA)  
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Davis (KY)  
Davis, David  
Davis, Lincoln  
Davis, Tom  
Deal (GA)  
DeFazio  
DeGette  
DeLauro  
Dent  
Diaz-Balart, L.  
Diaz-Balart, M.  
Dicks  
Dingell  
Doggett  
Donnelly  
Doolittle  
Drake  
Dreier  
Duncan  
Edwards  
Ehlers  
Ellison  
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Emanuel  
Emerson  
Engel  
English (PA)  
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Etheridge  
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Fallin  
Farr  
Fattah  
Feeney  
Ferguson  
Filner  
Flake  
Forbes  
Fortenberry  
Fossella  
Foxy  
Frelinghuysen  
Gallegly  
Garrett (NJ)  
Gerlach  
Gilchrest  
Gillibrand  
Gohmert  
Gonzalez  
Goode  
Goodlatte  
Granger  
Graves  
Green, Al  
Green, Gene  
Grijalva  
Gutierrez  
Hall (NY)  
Hall (TX)  
Hare  
Hastings (FL)  
Hayes  
Heller  
Hensarling  
Herger  
Herseeth Sandlin  
Hill  
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Hinojosa  
Cannon  
Hodes  
Hoekstra  
Holden  
Holt  
Honda  
Hoolley  
Hoyer  
Hulshof  
Hunter  
Inglis (SC)  
Inslee  
Israel  
Issa  
Jackson (IL)  
Jackson-Lee (TX)  
Jefferson  
Johnson (GA)  
Johnson (IL)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Johnson, Sam  
Jones (NC)  
Jones (OH)  
Jordan  
Kagen  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Keller  
Kennedy  
Kildee  
Kilpatrick  
Kind  
King (IA)  
King (NY)  
Kingston  
Kirk  
Kline (FL)  
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Kuhl (NY)  
LaHood  
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Lampson  
Langevin  
Lantos  
Larsen (WA)  
Larson (CT)  
Latham  
LaTourette  
Lee  
Levin  
Lewis (GA)  
Lewis (KY)  
Linder  
Lipinski  
LoBiondo

Loeb sack  
Lofgren, Zoe  
Lowey  
Lucas  
Lungrén, Daniel E.  
Lynch  
Mahoney (FL)  
Maloney (NY)  
Manzullo  
Matheson  
Matsui  
McCarthy (CA)  
McCarthy (NY)  
McCollum (MN)  
McCotter  
McDermott  
McGovern  
McHugh  
McIntyre  
McMorris  
Rodgers  
McNerney  
McNulty  
Meek (FL)  
Meeks (NY)  
Melancon  
Mica  
Michaud  
Miller (MI)  
Miller (NC)  
Miller, Gary  
Miller, George  
Mitchell  
Mollohan  
Moore (KS)  
Moore (WI)  
Moran (KS)  
Moran (VA)  
Murphy (CT)  
Murphy, Patrick  
Murphy, Tim  
Murtha  
Musgrave  
Myrick  
Nadler  
Napolitano  
Neal (MA)  
Neugebauer  
Nunes  
Obey  
Oliver  
Ortiz  
Pallone  
Pascarella  
Pastor  
Payne  
Pearce  
Pence  
Perlmuter  
Peterson (MN)  
Petri  
Pitts  
Platts  
Pomeroy  
Porter  
Price (GA)  
Price (NC)  
Radanovich  
Rahall  
Ramstad  
Rangel  
Regula  
Rehberg  
Reichert  
Renzi  
Reyes  
Richardson  
Rodriguez  
Rogers (AL)  
Rogers (KY)  
Rogers (MI)  
Rohrabacher  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Roskam  
Ross  
Rothman  
Roybal-Allard  
Royce  
Ruppersberger  
Rush  
Ryan (OH)  
Ryan (WI)  
Salazar  
Sali  
Sánchez, Linda T.  
Sanchez, Loretta  
Sarbanes

Schakowsky  
Schiff  
Schmidt  
Schwartz  
Scott (GA)  
Scott (VA)  
Sensenbrenner  
Serrano  
Sestak  
Shadegg  
Shays  
Shea-Porter  
Sherman  
Shuler  
Shuster  
Sires  
Skelton  
Slaughter  
Smith (NE)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith (WA)  
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Thornberry  
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Udall (CO)  
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Upton  
Van Hollen  
Velázquez  
Visclosky

Walberg  
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Schultz  
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Wilson (OH)  
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Young (AK)  
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The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TIERNEY). On this rollcall, 377 Members have recorded their presence by electronic device, a quorum.

Under the rule, further proceedings under the call are dispensed with.

#### ORDERLY AND RESPONSIBLE IRAQ REDEPLOYMENT APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2008

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida has 29¼ minutes remaining. The gentleman from Wisconsin has 26½ minutes remaining.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute simply to explain to the House that the intention is to have one remaining speaker on each side and then proceed to the votes.

With that, I yield back the remainder of my 1 minute and invite the gentleman from Florida to close.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of the time.

Mr. Speaker, throughout the evening, we have heard some very, very interesting speeches. I listened with great respect to all of them. I agreed with some, I disagreed with some, I wasn't sure about some. Nevertheless, it was a good debate at a high level. I paid special attention to the very distinguished Speaker of the House because in her opening comments, she talked about how Monday, Veterans Day, America honored our veterans. She spoke about the Veterans appropriations bill in great, glowing terms. I agree with that. It is a really good bill. It provides a lot of benefits for the veterans. There are 400,000 veterans claims backed up. That bill provided money to hire additional adjudicators to get rid of that backlog and get the veterans what they need.

The problem is that as she spoke about the importance of this bill and what a great bill it was and great bill it is, she failed to say that the House passed it on June 15, the Senate passed it in September, and here we are in November still waiting to get that bill on the House floor.

I say, Madam Speaker, let's vote on the VA appropriations bill.

I mentioned the fact that there were great speeches. But, Mr. Speaker, tonight we will not be voting or be recorded on how those speeches went, or what those speeches said, or what those speeches included. We are not going to be voting on opinions. We are not going to be voting on politics. We are going to be voting on what is in this bill. What has been said about this bill is not necessarily what is actually written in the bill. But we are going to vote for what is written in that bill. We will be held accountable for our vote on what that bill says, not on what some speaker said about it.

One of the things that I mentioned in my opening comments that I was really offended by is that this legislation gives constitutional protection to terrorists, the same constitutional protection that all of our constituents enjoy. I refer to page 3 of the bill itself, "Nothing in this section shall be construed to affect the rights under the United States Constitution of any person in the custody or under the physical jurisdiction of the United States."

Now, that gives terrorists the same protection that your constituents have. And that's just not right. By giving them that protection, do we give them for example, do we have to read them their Miranda rights if we capture them on the battlefield? Do we have to allow them to pay bail and get out of jail or get out of detention? What kind of rights will we be giving to terrorists with just this one sentence that says they shall have rights under the Constitution? These are terrorists, Mr. Speaker. These aren't even people who are signatories to the Geneva Convention. They don't play by any rules. They do whatever they must do, and they have killed thousands and thousands of Americans, and they have killed thousands and thousands of the Muslim populations.

Now, something about this bill, on page 6 of this bill, "After the conclusion of the reduction and transition of United States Armed Forces to a limited presence as required by this section, the Secretary of Defense may deploy or maintain members of the Armed Forces in Iraq only for the following missions." Now, pay attention to this because this is what you will be allowing. For those of you that think you're getting troops out of Iraq, this is what this bill will permit. The Armed Forces in Iraq can be there for the following missions: "Protecting United States diplomatic facilities, United States Armed Forces, and American citizens." We do that now. That is one of the things that we are doing right now.

So you think you're getting out of that. This bill keeps you in that. The next paragraph, "Conducting limited training, equipment, and providing logistical and intelligence support to the Iraqi Security forces." We're doing that now. So if you think this bill is going to change anything, it doesn't because you are allowing them to stay